

AZANIA COMBAT

No. 3

- Service Suffering & Sacrifice

1975

Azanian Women Mark



1975



At home and abroad Azanian women are marking 1975, the International Women's Year, with increased militancy. TOP PICTURE: Women raise the Black Power Salute in a demo against the "Terrorism Act" trial of 13 SASO, BPC, BAWU and TECOM leaders, outside the Pretoria Supreme Court. BELOW: Leaders of the delegations of the FLO (right), Sudan (centre) and PAC of Azania (left) hold discussions during the International Women's Year Conference in Mexico (See PAC at the IYW inside).

In this Issue:

Africa be warned!	2
Editorial: International status of a bogus republic	3
Pretoria 'Treason Trial' collapses	4
PAC at the International Women's Year Conference	5
Israeli zionists declare war on Azanian freedom fighters	7
Tribute to Robert Resha	8
Blacks see no change in race relations	11
Guinea and Guyana visits	12

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AFRICA BE WARNED!

**S.A. atomic energy
experts welcomed**

The Deputy Prime Minister, Sen. John Wratbail (centre) was host at a cocktail party given by the Government's Energy Resources Committee in honour of two visit-

ing South African atomic energy experts. To the left of the Minister is Dr. Louw Alberts, vice-president of the S.A. Atomic Energy Board, and to his right is Dr. Johan Basson, director of the Board's Isotopes and Radiation Division.

Editorial

THE INTERNATIONAL STATUS OF A BOGUS REPUBLIC

During a rally which was to be addressed by Comrade Ndabaniingi Sithole and a representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania in London a speaker from the Third World, urging for more concrete demonstrations of class solidarity from the British working class, recalled an anecdote showing some of tactics Karl Marx used in the 19th century to test the genuineness of fellow proletarian activists in Europe.

The proletarian internationalism genius would invite a comrade from Russia to comment on the colonisation of Ireland by England, predictably the Russian would vehemently denounce English colonialism and endorse support for the Irish national liberation movement. "What about Poland under Tsarist Russia?" Karl Marx would ask. "No, Poland is a different question, the situation is not the same" came the excuse. Marx would apply the same test to an English comrade, get an identical denunciation of Russian colonialism and an equally enthusiastic support for Polish liberationists.

To the accompaniment of an uncomplimentary remark Marx would tick off from his book any who applied double standards to what is fundamentally to same issue. The apartheid regime in Pretoria, which is a direct result of European colonialism in Azania, also seeks to take cover under legalistic double talk about its international status. Colonialism has been condemned as both illegal and inhuman by the international community, through innumerable resolutions of the United Nations, which has called for its elimination and the granting of self-determination to the peoples in the colonies.

Union Act illegal

The decision of the British colonialists, in the light of the UN resolutions, to hand over state power to white settlers who are neither indigenous nor in the majority, through the Union of South Africa Act of 1909, was illegal, and its illegality cannot be eroded by the passage of time. The African people of Azania are, therefore, victims of a cruel hoax that has been perpetrated by European colonialism; their experience under colonialism differs only in detail from that of the rest of Africa and it should not be separated.

An American writer on constitutional affairs, Payson S. Wild, has written: "A sovereign country can conduct its own affairs, enter into treaties, declare war, or adopt a course of action without another country's consent". As far as Azania is concerned this sovereign right has been usurped by a foreign minority, which does as it pleases without consulting the indigenous majority. By denying the white minority regime membership of the OAU Africa has demonstrated that she does not recognise the bogus Republic of South Africa's claim to sovereignty in the land of Black people. The majority members of the UN Security Council have voted in favour of the expulsion of the apartheid regime (save for the veto by Britain, France and the US) and the 29th General Assembly of the United Nations overwhelmingly voted in favour of its delegation's expulsion. Above all the Azanian liberation movement as a whole, which is correctly by the OAU and the UN as the legitimate representative of the people of South Africa, rejects the minority regime's claim. To acquiesce in Pretoria's claim to sovereignty is tantamount to abetting apartheid-colonialism's crimes against the Azanian people. That is why Africa refuses to be lured into the double standards of the doubtful proletarian internationalists referred to above. Apartheid South Africa must be kept out of the UN.

PRETORIA 'TREASON TRIAL' COLLAPSES

Pretoria.—The trumped-up Terrorism Act charges brought against 13 Azania leaders of the Black Consciousness Movement collapsed hopelessly in the Pretoria Supreme Court at the end of June.

Held against the customary background of sordid detentions-without-trial and primitive torturing for the the accused, but also under the glare of incensed international public opinion, the trial came down like a castle of cards when the presiding judge admitted (what the rest of the world knew from the very beginning) that he "found the indictment vague" (Johannesburg "Rand Daily Mail", June 12, 1975).

Ten days after making that statement, when he was due to elaborate on why he found the indictment to be vague, the prosecution withdrew charges against two of the 13 accused (Suleyman Ahmed Ismail, 27, and Sivalingham Moodley, 24) and announced that new charges would be drawn up against the remaining 11.

Victory for world opinion

Up to the time when this report was going to press, almost a month later, the new charge sheet had not been brought up by the apartheid prosecutor-in-chief in this case, C. Rees. He had so bungled the case for the apartheid state that at one point the judge, Justice Boshoff, critically questioned: "How do these particulars explain this mass of information that neither I nor the defence can understand?" Rees, in response to a request from the defence lawyers, had furnished a mountain of information which did nothing to substantiate the grave charge of "conspiring to cause violence and revolution, foster feelings of resentment towards whites, isolate the state and weaken the economy".

It will be recalled that the accused in this case, which came to be known as the Treason Trial of the 13 in Azania and abroad, were arrested for defying a government banning order against demonstrations to celebrate the victory of FRELIMO over Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique. Amongst them are two veteran freedom fighters who have previously served time for furthering the aims of the Pan Africanist Congress, Dr Aubrey Mokoape (1960-61 and 1963 to 1965) and Martin Tsotetsi (1960-62).

Complimenting the skill of the defence lawyers in showing up the flimsy charges against the 13 was the world wide campaign for the release of the Treason Trial 13. Typical of the solidarity expressed by justice loving people from many parts of the world was the following cable to Vorster: WE MEMBERS OF THE FACULTY OF PSYCHOLOGY AND EDUCATION GENEVA UNIVERSITY SWITZERLAND DEMAND IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF SASO STUDENTS AS WELL AS FOR ALL OUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS IMPRISONED FOR THE CRIME OF FIGHTING FOR A BETTER WORLD. The cable was signed by 150 professors and other lecturers appeal made by the Azanian human rights organisation in Johannesburg, Social Change (see Azania Combat, No 2, '75). The dropping of the charges against two of the accused and forcing the prosecution to draw a new charge sheet has exposed the abuse of the law courts by apartheid South Africa, world public opinion has therefore helped in the scoring of an important victory against a racist regime in Pretoria.

Free 11 and prisoners

It must be borne in mind, however, that the victory at the Pretoria Supreme Court was partial, the remaining 11 Black leaders are still scheduled for trial under charges Rees & Co are presently concocting. There are scores of detainees from the September '74 and later swoops who remain unaccounted for, as much as there remain thousands on Robben Island, under house arrest and other restrictions. The campaign to free them all must be maintained.

P.A.C. AT THE INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR
CONFERENCE IN MEXICO

Mexico City.—At the invitation of the Secretariat of the UN International Women's Year Conference the Pan Africanist Congress sent a delegation to Mexico to attend the important event which lasted from June 19 to July 2. The PAC chief delegate, Comrade Elizabeth Sibeko, also addressed the extra-conference Tribune of non-governmental organisations and persons, in addition to delivering an important speech in the Plenary and speaking in the Commissions of the International Conference.

Bilateral, and sometimes group, discussions were held with fraternal delegations of progressives from North and South America, Europe, China, Palestine, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Indochina, independent African states and Southern Africa Liberation Movements, by the PAC delegation. PAC's correct revolutionary line of mobilising Azanian women and the broad masses of the people for armed struggle to overthrow apartheid colonialism and liquidate imperialist exploitation received militant support and all the delegations pledged firm solidarity with the people of Azania and their liberation movement.

The following is part of the speech delivered by Comrade Elizabeth Sibeko in the Plenary session of the IWY Conference on June 30:

By inviting the P.A.C. to represent the people of Azania you have confirmed the recognition extended to us by the OAU and the UN as legitimate representatives of our people. This is a deserved honour for our combatants and leadership, who form the spearhead in the struggle to free Azania ... At the same time this shows that the imperialist sponsored apartheid regime suffers growing isolation. This is a great victory for our struggle!

Azania

Our country, "— baptised "South Africa" by the colonialists, is going through the difficult period of fighting to destroy minority rule, gain independence and establish democratic rule, by the majority of the people. After the heroic armed resistance against colonial aggression waged by our forefathers against Dutch and British imperialists our country suffered defeat and our people were placed under white minority rule, through an Act of the British Parliament in 1910.

Determined to resist until victory, from 1912 the African masses organised themselves under a national movement and employed tactics of mass mobilisation to struggle for their birthrights. To contain the resistance the white minority empowered itself with a string of draconian laws. Systematically, successive white minority regimes built on all powerful military and police force to impose "— on the African majority. The — was mainly waged through non-violence.

In 1959 the Azanian people formed a liberation movement committed to positive action and to the strategy of counter-attacking reactionary violence with revolutionary violence. The P.A.C. was formed on April 6, 1959, to give full expression to the demand of the African people for total liberation, as against appeals for concessions in individual pieces of legislation. The revolutionary call of "Africa for the Africans" and PAC's main slogan of "Ixwe lethu" became the resounding cry of the African masses. P.A.C. positively revolutionised the struggle of — oppressed in Azania.

Human rights laws

A study of the International Commission of Jurists crystallly highlighted

... next page

PAC in Mexico (Continuing from P 5)

the inhumanity of South Africa's apartheid laws with this comment: "The extent to which South Africa's practice of apartheid is inconsistent with the rule of law can best be seen by comparing South Africa's legislation and practice with articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights". The South African statute book can then clearly be seen as the accursed bible of repressive laws that it is, pregnant from page to page with the most degrading and barbaric laws ever written. Every law affecting Black people denies us all of the fundamental rights that are enjoyed and taken for granted by the rest of civilised mankind.

Resistance

In a society that is as deprived and degraded as ours the only respectable and dignified position to be in is amongst those forces that are dedicated to the overthrow of the oppressive system. There is no way, as a mother, that I can ever hope to gain for my children in Azania their just entitlement of a free and compulsory education, as long as our country is governed by a regime dedicated to denying us an education other than that which conforms with the hated apartheid system. (Verwoerd once asked: "What is the sense of teaching the Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice?" and emphasised that "it is ... necessary that Native Education should be controlled in such a way that it ... accord with the policy of the State").

There is no way, for us as men and women, to ever be able to take up employment we choose, organise ourselves into trade unions, for the protection of our rights, if, as a top priority, we do not organise ourselves to form part of the liberation movement. There is no way the sanctity of our marriages can be respected for as long as the pass laws and the attendant influx regulations are maintained. Millions of homes will continue to be crudely disrupted and ruined by the evil migratory labour system which turns our menfolk into chattel slaves, leaving us women as grass widows in the so-called homelands and our children virtual orphans.

Above all there is no way for us as Africans to ever exercise the right to take part in the government of our country, directly or through free elections, as enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, unless we partake in the revolution that will bring down the whole system of white domination. The P.A.C. was formed for the purpose of leading such a revolution. Our Manifesto, adopted by the Inaugural Conference in April, 1959, clearly states that our task is "To create an organisational machinery for the organisation and mobilisation of the African people into powerful social force bent upon the destruction of all forces and factors that have reduced the stature of man and retarded his growth in our country, to create conditions favourable for the restoration of man's human worth and dignity and for the full development of his social personality".

(Comrade Sibeko then proceeded to recall the launching of PAC's Positive Action Campaign on March 21, 1960; the impact of the campaign in Azania and internationally; the first blood drawn by POQO, PAC's underground armed force; the strategic retreat and training of a people's war oriented guerrilla force; the encounter between PAC guerrillas and Portuguese colonial troops in Mozambique of which the Johannesburg STAR reported: "Portuguese told the Star that their officers were 'cut down with murderous cross-fire' in counter-ambushes laid out by PAC guerrillas transiting to South Africa").

Women under apartheid

Professor Simon, a noted sociologist, once commented: "Women carry a double burden of disabilities. They are discriminated against on the grounds of both sex and race. The two kinds of discrimination interact and reinforce

PAC at the IWF (Concluding)

each other. Colour bars retard the process of female emancipation by impeding the progress of the whole race ... (Equality) can become a reality ... only when both men and women have become full citizens in a free society". Reinforcing this statement in a revolutionary way Comrade Ramiz Alia, of the Politbureau of the Albanian Party of Labour, says:"A free woman can live only in a free society, liberated once and for all from capitalist oppression and exploitation, from every kind of national, racial or religious bondage".

The Pan Africanist Congress is wholly committed to these sacred ideals, PAC is the vehicle that will carry our society into freedom, an indivisible freedom enjoyed by all our citizens, irrespective of race, colour, creed or sex. As full participants in the struggle led by the P.A.C. Azanian women are assured total emancipation upon victory. Any reactionary who undervalues Azanian women's in the struggle and attempts to short change them over the fruits of victory is destined to be swept away by the revolution.

In conclusion I want to renew our appeal for all out material and moral support for the struggle PAC is leading in Azania ... We have said before, and I now repeat it, that the Azanian national liberation struggle is part and parcel of mankind's fight for the global elimination of the system of the exploitation of man by man. We will not fail to make our contribution to this noble cause.

I thank you Chairperson.

ISRAELI ZIONISTS DECLARE WAR ON AZANIAN
FREEDOM FIGHTERS

Johannesburg.- The Israeli zionists have frequently been accused by Azanian and Palestinian freedom fighters of involvement in apartheid South Africa's military campaigns against guerillas of the Azanian liberation movement. This was recently attested to here when Israel's former chief spy, General Meir Amit, boisterously said in an interview "That is an understatement" in reply to a question there exist good military relations between apartheid South Africa and Israel.

As reported in the London and Manchester GUARDIAN (July 8) Amit went on to disclose that "Senior Israeli officers visit South Africa regularly to lecture South African officers on modern warfare and anti-insurgency techniques". Military involvement on the side of an enemy is an open declaration of war in any conflict, equally the Israeli zionists have now declared at war with the Azanian national liberation movement by their calculated and ostentatious disclosure that they are helping Vorster's army with training in anti-guerilla war tactics.

UN alerted

PAC's Mission to Europe and the Americas has drawn the attention of the UN Secretary General, Kurt Waldheim, to the disclosure. PAC reminded the Secretary General that a favourite counter-insurgency tactic of the Israeli zionists is to attack neighbouring countries which sympathise with the freedom struggle. With the escalation of the involvement of hegemonic powers on Africa's East Coast, at the North of which is where Israel has for the past 27 years acted as US imperialism's watchdog, apartheid and zionism are clearly fanning fires that could lead to global conflagration. The Azanian national liberation movement must be assisted to stamp out the menace with armed struggle. PAC is also raising the matter with the OAU.

TRIBUTE TO ROBERT RESHA*

By Alfred Kgokong Ngota

London.—Robert Mobilwane Resha, our 'Robbie' in the South African Liberation struggle, was born in Queenstown in 1920. As a boy he was a playmate of such men as Temb-ekile ka Tshunungwa, Nelson Mandela, with whom he later shared comradeship in the African National Congress where both Tshunungwa and Mandela had become prominent leaders. Robbie too gained distinction as a brilliant political organiser.

As a young man Robbie came to Johannesburg to work in the mines. He delighted in telling the story of how he quarrelled with one of the white foremen underground. Robbie attacked the man after he could bear no longer the racist insults directed at him. Robbie then went from one mine shaft to another, staying underground for two or three days in each. The mine authorities raised the alarm to look for him. But when he surfaced after several days, he said he was ready to go to prison for hitting a racist white man. But the foreman admitted that he had provoked Robbie. Nonetheless, the white foremen became so frightened of going underground with Robbie that they stayed at the surface. The South African mines owe Robbie's widow, Maggie Resha, a debt for the index finger on his left hand which he lost toiling in the belly of the earth. When he left the mines he entered journalism, working for various African newspapers, such as the IGOLI, which reported extensively on the Defiance Campaign and of which Robbie was the associate editor.

It was also at this time that he became active in politics, immediately after the mineworkers' strike of 1946. Robbie used to say that his political interest was fired by Clements Kadalie whose I.C.U. (Industrial and Commercial Workers Union) had become the focal point of African resistance in the 1930s. Robbie however joined the African National Congress in 1939. He lived in Sophiatown and took part in all the struggles of the people in the Western areas of Johannesburg. He became the hero of the people in that area when he effectively led the 1953 Campaign to resist the removal of the African townships, a removal that involved the dispossession of the people.

Founds publications

Robbie took part in the formation of the ANC Youth League in 1944. In 1953 he was elected Transvaal President of the ANCYL. He was also a member of the NEC of the ANC — a position to which he was re-elected in successive conferences until the ANC was outlawed in 1960. In 1954 he was elected National Propaganda Officer of the ANCYL. Robbie also acted as National President of the Youth League from 1954 to 1957 when the late Patrick Molao succeeded to this post. Patrick served the and died valiantly as an Umkhonto we Sizwe combatant in Zimbabwe campaigns of the ANC-ZAPU alliance in 1967.

In South Africa and abroad Robbie served the ANC in various capacities. In 1960 the ANC consultative conference at Morogoro made him head of International Affairs. In this position he helped found the ANC publications such as "Sechaba", "Spotlight on South Africa" and "Mayibuye", and organised the compilation of scripts for ANC beamed to South Africa. The cessation of some of these publications is an indication of the harmful results that can flow from ill-advised and inexperienced decision-making on matters that were built up over a long time involving many struggles.

Perhaps one aspect of Robbie's life is often is that he played a part in the formation of the ANC Volunteer Corps which later

Tribute to R. Resha (Continuing)

Became known as umkhonto we Sizwe after the ANC was proscribed in 1960. In their short addresses in memory of Robbie both Oliver R. Tambo, Acting President of the ANC, and J.D. Matlou recalled that when the Defiance Campaign of the ANC and the South African Indian Congress was launched in 1952, Robbie was Volunteer-in-Chief in the Transvaal.

In 1966 a situation arose in London among the South African freedom fighters that required the attention of the National Executive. It is not an easy situation to explain but it involved the growing feeling of dissatisfaction with the role which the non-African section was playing in the liberation struggle abroad. Many efforts were made to draw these former members of the Congress Alliance in South Africa into the work performed by the ANC External Mission. It should be remembered that the Congress Alliance had to be dissolved in South Africa on two very important grounds namely, that some of its constituent parts like the ANC and the Congress of Democrats (whites) were outlawed in 1960. The ANC decided to go underground and continue the struggle. The Congress of Democrats (whites) decided to disband. The other reason was that the ANC decided to adopt the policy of armed struggle. Some of the legal constituents of the Congress Alliance such as the South African Indian Congress, the South African Congress of Trade Unions and the South African Coloured People's Congress could not adopt this new policy. So the Congress alliance functioned imperfectly and under strain as its main stream, the ANC, had gone underground and machinery for consultation on practical issues of struggle was inadequate or non-existent in the new conditions.

ANC rejects revival

In Britain the non-African section of the defunct Congress Alliance i.e. that part whose organisations continued to function " " in South Africa to this day albeit under the pressure of heavy bans, house arrest, detention without trial, etc, pressed for a re-alignment of forces that would effectively have revived the defunct Congress alliance in exile. In 1966 matters came to a head when a meeting was held under the auspices of the ANC National Executive Committee to review work and discuss problems of the revolution, including the discontent felt by the non-Africans in Britain. The meeting was held in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and lasted several days. Among the participants were Joe Slovo, the late Michael Harmel, Reggie September, Alex la Guma, Ray Alexander, Joe Matthews, Robbie Resha, Joe Matlou, Moses Mabhida, Mzwai Pilliso, Dr Y M Dadoo, M P Naicker, Raymond Kunene, Alfred Kgokong, Moses Kotane, the late J B Marks and O R Tambo. The main controversy seemed revolve around two issues, namely, the formation of a council of war in terms of a document that the non-African contingent had prepared that would include people from all races as was the case in the defunct national consultative committee of the Congress alliance before it disbanded. The ANC rejected strongly and unanimously this attempt to revive the multi-racial congress alliance machinery in which the principle of racial parity operated irrespective of the organisations (and their social weight) represented by the individual delegates. Indeed this type of machinery if operated on a basis of racial parity would always put the African voice in the minority in view of the numerical advantage of the non-African. But the main basis of the ANC rejection was on the grounds that the non-African contingent and their organisations had consider the repercussions for all involved where some organisations had adopted a policy of armed struggle whilst others had not. This is not and was not an attack on the preparedness of individuals to join the armed struggle in which case they should not claim to representing organisations. This question has been conveniently swept under the carpet since the 1969 Morogoro conference. The very machinery that was so clearly rejected by the ANC in the presence of the most senior combatants and leaders in the

Tribute to R. Resha (Continuing)

struggle was deemed to be suitable under various guises and the questions of principle were ignored.

Resha's one-man commission

The other issue in 1966 was the creation of a formal but non-public body to co-ordinate the ANC activities abroad with those of the non-African contingent of the Congress Alliance now living in exile. Again this idea could not be adopted in that form. Instead the ANC decided to set-up a commission in London that would act as the liaison between these revolutionaries and the ANC. The NEC appointed Robert Resha to assume the duties of a one-man commissioner and transferred him from Algeria where he was head of the ANC mission, to London. As Commissioner Robbie set-up various committees with different functions and saw to it that ANC delegations included members of all racial groups where this was possible, such as the ANC delegations to the First Tri-Continental Conference in Cuba that included Dr Dadoo and Reggie September, to the World Peace Council and to the 1968 Khartoum Conference in support of the liberation movements in Southern Africa.

All these efforts did not satisfy the non-African group who never abandoned their demand for representation on the ANC committees dealing with matters related to armed struggle. A new strategem was now resorted to, namely a demand for direct membership to the ANC even though separate organisations for Indians and Coloureds existed in South Africa. The question of open membership of the ANC especially to Whites was rejected in South Africa at a national conference held in Johannesburg in 1958 when Ronald Segal applied for membership. Oliver Tambo, the Acting President of the ANC, had presided over that 1958 ANC Conference which clearly laid down national policy on this matter. But, owing to unrelenting pressure for membership of the ANC by the non-African section of the Congress alliance, an ^{ANC} / conference held in Morogoro in 1969 hurriedly opened its doors to Whites, Indians, Coloureds and anyone else who wanted to join. The criterion was supposed to be support for revolutionary struggle regardless of race.

Muddling alliance question

Whilst such a principle would not be objectionable as an ideal it sadly ignored the relationship of social forces in South Africa which calls for the closest national unity of the African people in the vanguard of the national liberation struggle.

The broad alliance theory becomes muddled on this question and justifies itself on the basis of a class analysis that does not admit the national peculiarities germane to the South African system. The question "what are the social forces to be allied and what form of organisation shall that alliance take?" has come to be reduced to a simple formula that we are all revolutionaries and should belong to a single organisation. This approach ignores the hard historical realities of our situation. It leads to bickering, manoeuvres at bogus conferences for leadership and in general, internal disunity.

Robbie opposed the "Council of War" and the "open membership" proposals. He advocated revolutionary unity based on work and on the performance of revolutionary duties. He supported Moses Kotane's view in the 1966 consultative meeting that every revolutionary had to carry out revolutionary tasks and "subordinate himself to the will of the African people without demanding membership". For holding some of these views and expressing them fearlessly as was characteristic of him Robbie was pilloried, maligned and ultimately very cruelly isolated from the mainstream of ANC activities. He was branded as a nationalist, anti-communist and racist.

Stand firm

Even in his last days he never gave up hope. He urged us to stand firm on
... next page

Tribute to R. Resha (Concluding)

matters of principle in the struggle especially those that partly led to his isolation. He believed in the cause of African liberation and for him African nationalism as a driving force for the oppressed people was not misguided because he also believed in the broad democratic alliance of revolutionary forces. What he did stress was that the national unity of the Africans for which the African National Congress was formed in order to fight for liberation should not be allowed to disappear in the effort to build alliances. As a man who had subordinated himself completely to the liberation struggle his contribution to that struggle is too great to be summarised in this short assessment. A revolutionary of his stature will always live in the minds of those with whom he worked and struggled. His convictions and the just cause of the people of South Africa will triumph.

- * The unveiling of the tombstone of the late Robert Resha took place in London, on the 19th of July, 1975, and this tribute to him was written by a colleague in the NEC of the ANC to mark the occasion.

BLACKS SEE NO CHANGE IN RACE RELATIONS

- London TIMES, June 19, 1975

Cape Town.-The majority of urban Africans in "----" Africa feel that there has been no improvement in black-white relations in the republic despite the Government's detente policies in the rest of Africa.

According to an opinion survey published to-day, only 10 per cent of the Africans polled considered that race relations had improved in the past two years. More than 75 per cent felt things were much the same and 13 per cent believed they had deteriorated.

The situation appears more disturbing when the figures are compared with findings two years ago which indicated that a third "the Africans polled believed black-white relations were improving."

Comment: Two years ago White South Africans were extremely fearful of the overt upsurge of Black militancy and there was intense pressure on the Vorster regime to abandon its apartheid policies from a broad section of White public opinion (see PAC Paper, OAU-UN Conference, Oslo, 1973, now published by African Studies Department, University of Uppsala, Sweden). However, Vorster's detente "breakthrough" has restored the traditional arrogance and complacency of the majority of South African whites.

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Col Ignatius K. Acheampong, Chairman of the Ghana National Redemption Council, recently cautioned African leaders against rushing into detente agreements with South Africa (Africa Report, May-June, 1975).

Addressing the first meeting of the General Council of the OAU held in Accra Acheampong said that South African prime minister John Vorster had "turned himself into an apostle of goodwill towards all Black people, except those he is kicking around in South Africa".

S P E E C H E S O F M A N G A L I S O S O B U K W E
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Guinea & Guyana visits

The period after the All African People's Conference called by Osagyefo Dr Kwame Nkrumah in Accra in 1958 is an era which has brought together in active combat anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist African patriots in the Mother Continent as well as in the diaspora. In recognition of the pioneering role the P.A.C. of Amanis has played in this movement African, African-American and Caribbean leaders and mass organisations frequently invite leaders of PAC to their countries.

The respected leader of the Guinean people and greatly admired Son of Africa, Ahmed Sekou Toure, recently invited Potlako K. Lebello, Acting President of PAC, with whom he is pictured below, to address members of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party of Guinea (PDG) in Conakry. President Toure, who is also Secretary General of the PDG, solemnly pledged that "Guinea fights unconditionally against apartheid and stands side by side with the brotherly people of Amanis".



Mfanasekhaya Gqobose, Acting Treasurer-General of PAC, is pictured below being received by Premier Forbes Burnham of Guyana on the stage at the National Park in Georgetown; it was at the climax of the Africa Day rally for 1975. During his keynote address Premier Burnham disclosed that Guyana was doubling its voluntary annual contribution to the OAU Liberation Committee to 100,000 US dollars and announced that his Government was sending 50,000 to PRAELIMO to help with the reconstruction of Mozambique. "The Guyana nation will not rest until the whole of Southern Africa is free and the blackman is boss in his own country", said Prime Minister Burnham. Gqobose told the rally of thousands that "Africa is greatly indebted to the brothers and sisters in Guyana and the Caribbean for their involvement in the African liberation struggle". Addressing the Prime Minister he said "Through your leadership the people of Guyana have marched shoulder to shoulder with us in solidarity and we shall win no matter how long the struggle".

